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**Citation for published version:**

Hunter, A 2018, Older migrants: Inequalities of ageing from a transnational perspective. in S Westwood (ed.), *Ageing, Diversity and Inequality: Social justice perspectives*. 1st ed. edn, Routledge Advances in Sociology, Routledge. [https://doi.org/10.4324\\_9781315226835-24](https://doi.org/10.4324_9781315226835-24)

**Digital Object Identifier (DOI):**

[10.4324\\_9781315226835-24](https://doi.org/10.4324_9781315226835-24)

**Link:**

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

**Document Version:**

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

**Published In:**

Ageing, Diversity and Inequality

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## 13 Older migrants

### Inequalities of ageing from a transnational perspective

*Alistair Hunter*

#### Introduction

In many parts of the world, the population of older migrants is increasing. Relatively wealthy individuals from Northern Europe, North America and Australasia move in later life to retirement destinations in South America, South-East Asia and the Mediterranean region, for reasons of climate, affordability and other 'lifestyle' factors (King, Warnes and Williams, 2000; Hayes, 2014; Botterill, 2017).<sup>1</sup> Conversely, young workers from the Global South who responded to the demand for migrant labour in the Global North following World War II have now settled and aged in place. Statistical projections in Austria, Britain,<sup>2</sup> France, New Zealand and the United States point to rapid increases in the numbers of older foreign-born residents (Rallu, 2017).

Mainstream gerontology has been slow to grasp the significance of migration-related diversity within the older population, and of the inequalities which map onto this diversity in intersecting ways. This chapter seeks to build on the insights of the small body of work which has addressed migration-related diversity within gerontology (e.g. Samaoli, 1999; Blakemore, 1999; Burholt, 2004; Warnes et al., 2004; Torres, 2006; Victor, Burholt and Martin, 2012), by paying special attention to inequalities. I argue that these inequalities can be better grasped by adopting a *transnational comparative lens* which is sensitive to older migrants' 'duality of references', encompassing both countries of origin and destination (Bolzman, Fibbi and Vial, 2006, 1361). For the purposes of this chapter, migration is taken to mean international migration, that is to say a change in a person's habitual place of residence by moving across an international border. The qualifier *habitual* serves to indicate that such a change in residence is relatively durable, typically defined as lasting one year or more. The chapter's focus on migration likewise serves to differentiate it from a longer established literature on ageing and ethnicity (Dowd and Bengtson, 1978). Indeed, research in this area has tended to conflate migration background with ethnicity (cf. Heisig, Lancee and Radl, 2017). In prioritising migration background, I do not mean to imply that migrants' ethnicity is irrelevant in struggles for equality – quite the contrary, as Sandra Torres' contribution to this volume ably shows. Rather I wish to highlight the importance of analysing ethnicity

and migrant status as separate (but often interacting) variables. This task will only become more important in the decades to come as we see increasing numbers of older ethnic minority individuals in the Global North who are *not* migrants but rather the children of migrants who settled.

Like the other contributions to this volume, this chapter takes a social justice approach to inequality, drawing on Nancy Fraser's three-dimensional model of social justice as *resources*, *recognition* and *representation*. I will show that the disjuncture of international migration has potentially far-reaching consequences across all three domains. Some older lifestyle migrants move in order to maximise their standard of living in old age by relocating to a country where their retirement income goes further. Such late-in-life mobility challenges gerontological models which prioritise personal and social continuity as the basis for successful ageing (Torres, 2006). Conversely, for many older migrants who have aged in place in the Global North, the systemic employment disadvantages which they faced during working life lead to inequalities in their access to financial and social resources in later life. Parity of access to such resources may also be hindered by lack of recognition of language needs and cultural and religious practices, for example in health and social care. In response, some migrants seek access to institutions of political and legal representation, in order to further such demands for recognition when faced with resistance. Yet many older migrants face exclusion from political and legal institutions, both those ageing in place in the Global North and lifestyle migrants who move abroad following retirement. A transnational comparative analysis of such inequalities *both in places of origin and destination* offers a more nuanced understanding of the complex accumulation of circumstances which older migrants negotiate, showing that while they may face disadvantage relative to non-migrant peers in one setting, they may be comparatively well-off in the other setting.

### **International migration, ageing and inequalities: an analytical framework**

Insofar as later life is usually characterised by greater reliance on social protection, international borders – and the degree to which social protection is portable across them – may be especially salient for older people (Böcker and Hunter, 2017). International borders constitute what Michael Bommes called 'thresholds of inequality' between countries with differing welfare regimes (Bommes, 2000, 91). Bommes is one of the few scholars to consider questions of migration, inequality and the role of the welfare state. Indeed, research on migration has been critiqued for neglecting the multifaceted relationship between migration and inequality (Faist, 2016). When this relationship is discussed, the focus is usually limited to inequalities in income distribution, with individuals motivated to move to where wages are higher and where their labour yields greater reward (Galbraith, 1979; Faist, 2016).

To confine the discussion of migration and inequalities to economic resources is overly narrow. In older age, social resources become important, such as access

to care and informal support. This is an insight developed by Nancy Fraser in her later work on social justice. Furthermore, as Fraser contends, justice is not only about the *redistribution* of resources but also about *recognition* of marginalised identities and groups which have historically faced disadvantage and discrimination in direct or indirect ways, for example due to gender, ethnicity and sexual identity (Fraser, 2007). Indeed, Fraser's analysis of the feminist movement since the emergence of neoliberal ideology in the 1980s highlights that struggles for redistribution have increasingly become subsumed to identity politics. The third dimension of Fraser's framework, *representation*, relates to the political realm of inclusion in governance structures and decision-making procedures (Fraser et al., 2004).

Following the other contributions to this edited collection, this chapter's analysis will be structured according to the three dimensions of resources, recognition and representation. The next section will briefly review the literature on older migrants and outline how Fraser's framework of resources, recognition and representation can be adapted to offer a transnational comparative lens on inequality.

### **Older migrants: a topic of surging interest**

The academic literature on older migrants has grown considerably in a short space of time. With rare exceptions, academic interest in older migrants did not materialise until the late 1990s (Blakemore, 1999; Samaoli, 1999; King et al., 2000). However, recent years have witnessed a veritable surge of interest, including several edited collections (Horn and Schweppe, 2016; Karl and Torres, 2016; Walsh and Näre, 2016) and journal special issues (Ciobanu and Hunter, 2017; Ciobanu, Fokkema and Nedelcu, 2017). From the outset, this body of work has been cognisant of the diversity of older migrants, comprising some of the most advantaged in society as well as some of the least endowed, be that in terms of wealth, health, human capital or rights of residence. Warnes et al. (2004) point to this diversity in categorising older individuals who migrate into three groups: relatively affluent older people who move based on considerations such as higher standard of living, better climate or attractive scenery (amenity-seeking or 'lifestyle' migration); individuals who move to join adult children who emigrated previously (family-joining migration); and those who return to their places of origin after having spent their working lives abroad (retirement return migration).

In terms of the relative attention given to these different categories, lifestyle migration has generated a considerable body of literature (e.g. King et al., 2000; Hayes, 2014; Botterill, 2017). Less attention has been paid to retirement return (Baykara-Krumme and Platt, 2016; Hunter, 2018) and family-joining migration in later life (Nedelcu, 2009), an indication that these forms of late-in-mobility are both less common and less readily observable compared with lifestyle migrants, who tend to congregate in particular destination regions. As regards

retirement return, the available quantitative data suggest that definitive return is a minority preference, with most migrant workers ageing 'in place' (Attias-Donfut, Tessier and Wolff, 2005; Bolzman, Kaeser and Christe, 2017).

Increasingly, however, the distinction between ageing in place and definitive return fails to capture the reality of 'transnational ageing', namely the complex and multi-sited living arrangements which many older migrants adopt.<sup>3</sup> In particular, patterns of back-and-forth mobility between countries of destination and origin are increasingly in evidence among older migrants (Attias-Donfut, Tessier and Wolff, 2005; Bolzman, Kaeser and Christe, 2017; Hunter, 2018).<sup>4</sup> Warnes (2009, 359–360) speaks of 'transnational patterns of residence' by which 'older people can exploit, maintain and continue to develop residential opportunities, social networks and welfare entitlements in more than one country', facilitated by cheaper international travel and advances in communications technology. This 'bi-residence' option may be a means to experience the 'best of both worlds', maximising the benefit of having a 'duality of resources and references' (Bolzman, Kaeser and Christe, 2006, 1361). Yet it may also engender feelings of 'double absence' (Sayad, 1999), of being marginal both in the place of origin and the destination country. While most studies examining these residence patterns have drawn upon research with older people who migrated in early adulthood for (often low-skilled) work, it is important to acknowledge that other categories of older people engage in transnational ageing, including lifestyle migrants and family-joiners (Horn and Schweppe, 2016).

As transnational ageing becomes more and more practicable for an increasing number of people, it seems imperative to consider older migrants' dual resources and references when thinking through questions of equality which touch this population. The key analytical point I wish to underline in this chapter, therefore, is the importance of viewing inequalities experienced by migrants in a transnational comparative perspective. To seize the significance of dual references and resources (Bolzman, Kaeser and Christe, 2006) requires us to focus on inequalities between older migrants and non-migrant older people, both at the places of destination and departure. This call is echoed by Thomas Faist (2016, 331), who alludes to 'the often disparate social positions of migrants in immigration and emigration countries'. Such inequalities may be observed in standardised measures and survey instruments, as well as subjectively perceived by migrants themselves.

A further advantage of adopting a transnational comparative lens is that it disrupts the homogenising narratives which the above categorisations sometimes reinforce, such as 'vulnerable' former guestworkers ageing in place, or as 'privileged' globe-trotting lifestyle migrants. As a number of recent contributions underline, it is important to grasp the diversity of lived experiences *within* these socially constructed categories (Ciobanu, Fokkema and Nedelcu, 2017). To give some empirical underpinning to this comparative transnational application of Fraser's framework, I will now give some applied examples for each category – resources, recognition and representation.

### **Resources: inequalities flowing from the division of labour, globally and locally**

Economic resources and access to health care or informal support are among the most important components of quality of life for older people (Moriarty and Butt, 2004; Motel-Klingebiel, 2006). The prominence of such economic and social resources in the literature is reflected in the weight accorded to resources in this chapter, as compared to the somewhat shorter sections on recognition and representation.

#### *Economic resources*

The value of applying a transnational lens to older migrants' experience of inequalities in older age is evident when considering economic resources. Migrant workers may have low socio-economic status in the destination country, but experience considerable social mobility vis-à-vis peers in the place of origin (Faist, 2016). Similarly, lifestyle migrants may have a high standard of living abroad, yet their decision to emigrate may have been made in part to avoid hardship in old age in a context of diminished retirement security and welfare retrenchment in the Global North (Hayes, 2014). In both cases, for migrant workers and lifestyle migrants alike, these comparative advantages are predicated on

the global division of labour which has benefited workers whose labour was located in the Global North over those in the Global South ... [Through] transnational mobility ... privileges gained at higher latitudes of the global division of labour can be cashed out at lower latitudes.

(Hayes, 2014, 1966)

The capacity to engage in transnational mobility to capitalise on these global disparities is subject to constraints, however. Older lifestyle migrants may be vulnerable to policy shifts and changes in the wider economy which leave them in a more precarious position, such as unfavourable currency exchange rates and lack of affordable state-provided health care, necessitating very expensive private health insurance (Botterill, 2017).<sup>5</sup> Likewise, many former labour migrants face barriers to transnational mobility due to work-related poor health, and are thus obliged to spend most of their time in the Global North where they are more likely to experience poverty compared to non-migrants (Heisig, Lancee and Radl, 2017). Research in different European countries has shown that migrant-origin populations are less likely to have sufficient contributory pension funds and therefore more likely to rely on the minimum subsistence level afforded by means-tested income support (Ginn and Arber, 2001; Kaeser, 2015; Böcker and Hunter, 2017). The smaller pensions drawn by migrants are in part due to systemic disadvantage, a consequence of their later entry to the labour market (and thus shorter period amassing a pension

fund) compared with non-migrants. This trend is observed in many European countries (Bommes, 2000; Ginn and Arber, 2001; Harrysson, Montesino and Werner, 2016; Heisig, Lancee and Radl, 2017).

Intersecting with migration background is the crucial variable of gender, which reveals wide disparities in income after retirement in various European countries, particularly for foreign-born populations (Ginn and Arber, 2001; Heisig, Lancee and Radl, 2017). These differences are largely due to labour market participation and are explained by motivations for emigration, with older males having largely moved for work while family reasons were the most common motivation among older heterosexual women, i.e. to join a male partner already abroad in the context of family formation or reunification (Gallou, 2006). Within migrant populations major differences by origin can be observed in the labour market participation of women, with females from Pakistan and Bangladesh having very low labour market participation in Britain (Ginn and Arber, 2001). In later life, such patterns translate into very low or non-existent pension funds for women compared with men. Given women's longer life expectancy, the prospect of poverty for many migrant women in later life is very real, to which must be added increased likelihood of dementia and loneliness in widowhood (Gallou, 2006).

Despite the economic disadvantages often faced in destination countries, older migrants hold favourable views of their social mobility (Kaesler, 2015), being more positive in their evaluations of social mobility than their non-migrant contemporaries (Attias-Donfut, Tessier and Wolff, 2005). Although counter-intuitive at first glance, this perception of social mobility is explained by the fact that older migrants make such judgements with reference to the lives they would have led in countries of origin, had they not emigrated (Kaesler, 2015). And for many migrants ageing in place, the standard of living they enjoy in older age is higher than their peers 'back home' (Baykara-Krumme and Platt, 2016), bolstered by pensions and other forms of social protection which are rare or non-existent in countries of origin. Furthermore, pensions are often exportable to countries of origin with minimal financial penalties and, thanks to favourable differences in costs of living, are worth much more there than in the country where the pension was accumulated (Hunter, 2018). Thus, while relatively deprived in the destination country, in home countries older migrants may be rather well-off vis-à-vis their 'left-behind' relatives and friends, with whom many continue to maintain links. These transnational connections are nourished through regular transfers of money by migrants, creating new inequalities between remittance-receiving households and those without a member abroad (Bracking and Sachikonye, 2010). A transnational perspective on ageing and inequality brings into relief these dynamics.

### *Social resources*

Maintaining physical and psychological health, and accessing appropriate care and support when health diminishes, constitutes the most important component



of quality of life in older age (Motel-Klingebiel, 2006). In Europe, the proportion of older people declaring to be in poor health is higher amongst migrants than non-migrant older people (Lanari and Bussini, 2012; Hjelm and Albin, 2014; Kaeser, 2015). These differences can be attributed in part to migrants' greater exposure to fatiguing work conditions and work accidents (Moriarty and Butt, 2004; Kaeser, 2015; Hunter, 2018), as well as lack of access to or familiarity with health care systems, thereby over time negating the 'healthy migrant' effect which is widely held to determine who migrates in the first place (Lanari and Bussini, 2012). Older migrants also report poorer mental health than non-migrant elders. A study by Lanari and Bussini (2012) analysing the first wave of data from the pan-European 'Survey on Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe' (SHARE) found that 45% of foreign-born respondents aged over 50 experienced depressive symptoms, compared with 35% for those not born abroad.

The act of migrating, at least in the short term, imperils health insofar as migrants are cut off from their customary networks of support and care. While this may be temporary, such disruption to support networks often persists across the life course, compounded by other factors of disadvantage such as poverty. A transnational comparative perspective is yet again valuable here. With regard to migrants' countries of origin, in Ireland Barrett and Mosca (2013) analysed quantitative data and found that return migrants are more likely to be socially isolated than their age peers who had never left Ireland. In another quantitative analysis, but this time centred on a destination country (Germany), Fokkema and Naderi (2013) highlighted the higher incidence of loneliness among older adults of Turkish origin vis-à-vis their non-migrant German peers (see also Victor, Burholt and Martin, 2012). Similarly, qualitative research has drawn attention to worrying trends of depression and alcoholism among some older lifestyle migrants, particularly older men (Botterill, 2017).

These findings on loneliness and depression indicate that the level of informal support received from relatives and friends is a key factor. This is a subject of much debate in the field. Stewart et al. (2008) note that meanings and norms of support are culturally-contingent, informing either collectivist or more self-sufficient attitudes about giving and receiving care. However, prioritising 'culture' may lead service providers to make stereotyped assumptions about the needs of older migrants (Torres, Ågård and Milberg, 2016). A culturalist narrative that informal support is more common in migrant-origin communities has been regularly documented among welfare providers, who assume that there is therefore less need for their formal interventions (Willis, Price and Glaser, 2013). Whether informal support is actually received is of course a different matter, and other studies have shown that this is not always the case, with the potential for ambivalent attitudes among older migrants, caught between expectations of care and not wishing to be a burden upon one's children (Cook, 2010).

Where the possibilities for informal care are diminished due to lack of family or friendship networks, ageing migrants are likely to require greater input from



formal care providers (Hunter, 2018). Despite their greater health needs, most studies have found that older migrants make less use of health care services than non-migrant seniors (Hjelm and Albin, 2014). Furthermore, when care services are used by older migrants, surveys have found that they are less satisfied than the non-migrant majority population. In a study looking at ethnic variations in satisfaction with social care in the UK, understanding how the care system works was found to be a key determinant of satisfaction, and here again poor language proficiency was shown to be an important barrier to care (Willis, Price and Glaser, 2016). Similarly in health care settings, '[p]eople's ability to understand what was happening to them, to share important information and to participate in their care was significantly constrained – if not eliminated – where language barriers existed' (Ellins and Glasby, 2016, 59). The problem of language barriers in accessing care leads to the second strand of Fraser's framework, *recognition*.

### **Recognition: language, cultural competence, racism and female empowerment**

Care can be straightforwardly conceptualised as a type of resource, but for older migrants it is also a question of recognition, including recognition of migrants' language needs. Cook's research with older women from Somalia and Hong Kong who migrated to the UK in later life underscores the barriers constituted by non-recognition of languages when it comes to accessing welfare services (Cook, 2010). Unfortunately, interpretation services 'are still woefully inadequate and under-funded' (ibid., 265). Those who migrate in later life tend to be less proficient in local languages, since they have had fewer opportunities to acquire fluency through, for example, labour market participation (Burholt, 2004). This is particularly the case for vulnerable recent arrivals such as older refugees. Cook (2010) documents major language barriers to accessing services, including in health care. Younger family members were not always able to assist with interpreting due to school or work commitments: when they did help, this sometimes compounded their older relatives' sense of dependency (ibid.).

However, it is not only recognition of language needs which is at stake when older migrants try to access care and support, but also cultural and religious norms, such as dietary needs (Ellins and Glasby, 2016). The latter factors have been discussed at length in the large literature which now exists on 'cultural competence' in care settings (Alizadeh and Chavan, 2016). Despite the evident popularity of cultural competence as a concept, there is a lack of empirical evidence on the efficacy of this approach (ibid.). Indeed, scholars – particularly in the field of palliative care – have critiqued the concept due to 'the essentialisation that takes place when stereotypical assumptions about patients' ethno-cultural backgrounds are used as a compass to guide the care they receive' (Torres, Ågård and Milberg, 2016, 104; see also Gunaratnam, 2013).

When service providers fail in their duty to ensure parity of access to their services for different groups on the basis of cultural inferiority and cultural

stereotypes, racism is at work (Moriarty and Butt, 2004). One reason why racism has been marginalised in this research area is that much racism goes unreported and it is therefore difficult to reliably gauge its extent (*ibid.*). In the UK, Cook (2010) reported older Irish and Somali women's experiences of racist attitudes among officials at welfare agencies. In their mixed-methods research, Moriarty and Butt (2004) found that around a half of their minority ethnic respondents had experienced racism, either in the form of physical or verbal abuse, or unfair treatment in the workplace. Furthermore, these individuals were more likely to mention financial worries or complain of isolation: the former may be a consequence of blocked career advancement, while the latter may reflect neighbourhood dissatisfaction and fears about going out (Moriarty and Butt, 2004). In my own research in France, I encountered numerous instances of public bodies disproportionately targeting older foreign-born people when investigating social security fraud (Hunter, 2018).

Sexism is a further manifestation of mis-recognition which denies parity of participation in social life. Whether migration impedes or facilitates equality for women is a topic of considerable debate in migration studies. Once again, taking a comparative transnational view of origin and destination contexts can be instructive. Many studies have found that women who migrate, either singly or via family reunification, value the increased autonomy which they enjoy in destination countries vis-à-vis their peers 'left behind' (Böcker and Gehring, 2015). This autonomy is often mentioned as a reason why (heterosexual) women are usually less keen than their partners to return home after retirement (*ibid.*). Turning to countries of origin, the evidence is mixed as to whether 'left behind' women gain in autonomy during the absence of émigré fathers, brothers and husbands (see Lenoël, 2017 for overview). Interestingly, Lenoël's research in Morocco shows that the empowerment of left-behind spouses, when it occurs, is linked to lifecycle stage, with women experiencing greater autonomy later in life once their responsibilities to their husbands' parents come to an end (often following the death of the latter), enabling them to set up their own nuclear households and control how remittances are spent (*ibid.*).

This overview of the multiple axes of identity implicated in older migrants' (and stayers') struggles for recognition leads me to the third strand of Fraser's framework – access to institutions of political and legal representation – in order to further such demands for recognition when faced with resistance.

### **Representation: the potential to act politically but dependent on the locus of citizenship**

A key debate among theorists of democracy pits those who espouse a more active role for citizens through pluralistic, deliberative forms of representation against those who favour a more minimal, passive role via the election of professional politicians to represent ordinary citizens. Yet as Urbinati and Warren (2008, 394) contend,

Important though these debates about active versus passive representation were, they glossed over the glaring fact that many groups within the established democracies lacked even passive inclusion . . . particularly those based on gender, ethnicity and race.

This political exclusion certainly applies also to migrants. In European countries which encouraged labour migration after World War II, migrants who have aged in place tend to be poorly represented. Indeed, ageing migrants were for a long time invisible in public policy due to the assumption that they would return to countries of origin before reaching old age (Kaeser, 2015). The persistence of this ‘myth of return’ in policymakers’ imaginations has led to a lack of concerted planning for the challenges of a more ethnically diverse ageing population. When older migrants do come to public consciousness, it is often in negative terms – for example in scandals around poor housing, social security fraud or social care (Hunter, 2018). In some European countries, these problems have led to the commissioning of government reports, but concrete policy measures have been slow to emerge (Böcker and Hunter, 2017).

One reason for this lack of urgency among policymakers is that many migrants ageing in Europe do not have electoral voting rights. In most European countries, only those migrants who have naturalised may vote in national elections.<sup>6</sup> In Austria, France, Germany and Italy the electoral exclusion of third-country nationals even applies to local elections. The same exclusions on foreign nationals also apply to electoral candidacy. In any case, setting aside migrant status for one moment, politicians of ethnic minority backgrounds are under-represented in national political systems. In the UK, 6% of members in the two Houses of Parliament were of an ethnic minority background prior to the 2017 General Election, yet ethnic minorities compose 13% of the total UK population (Audickas et al., 2016). 6% of members of the German Federal Parliament were from a migrant background as of 2013, compared with 20% for the overall population (*ibid.*).

Despite these statistics showing the gap which migrant and ethnic minority populations still have to overcome to attain parity in the political sphere, taking a transnational perspective on inequality does reveal a more nuanced picture. Older migrants’ political perspectives are not confined to countries of residence, indeed they may be far more engaged in homeland politics. Research I carried out in France and Senegal with older Senegalese former labour migrants revealed the power and influence which they yield in their places of origin, despite their long absences (Hunter, 2018). A particularly important driver of this was their leadership of ‘hometown associations’, which are a means to collectively pool remittances and develop communal infrastructure such as schools, clinics and clean water supply (*ibid.*).

Turning lastly to older lifestyle migrants and their political participation in places of residence, this theme has been very marginal in the literature. This is perhaps unsurprising given that lifestyle migration is often framed as an

individualistic and ‘rather apolitical’ form of mobility (Janoschka, 2010, 270). Indeed, lifestyle migration in later life can even be considered a consequence of the political failure of collective bargaining to defend pensions in the face of neoliberal individualism, with less well-off retirees from the recession-hit Global North relocating to the Global South where their depleted retirement funds will stretch further (Hayes, 2014). Nonetheless, the stores of human, social and financial capital which lifestyle migrants often possess give them ‘the potential to seriously alter political life’ in their destinations, as a study of the political campaigning of Northern European migrants against local land use policies in Spain shows (Janoschka, 2010, 271). Hitherto, however, the minimal evidence available in this area indicates that such potential influence is rarely enacted.

## Conclusion

Up until relatively recently, migrant older people were of marginal concern in the mainstream gerontology literature, symptomatic of a broader tendency in this field to occlude the heterogeneity of older populations and the inequalities which map onto this diversity in intersecting ways. As a number of scholars have argued, the ways in which older people respond to the disjunctures brought about by migrating are potentially a source of theoretical renewal in gerontology, bringing new insights to models which have prioritised personal and social continuity as the foundation for successful ageing (Torres, 2006). My contribution here has been to highlight the value of a transnational ageing perspective, sensitive to older migrants’ ‘duality of references’ (Bolzman, Fibbi and Vial, 2006, 1361), with many older migrants simultaneously evaluating the success (or otherwise) of their life projects in relation to their peers both in countries of destination and in places of origin.

A further advantage of a transnational perspective is that it draws attention to the diversity not only *between* but also *within* groups of older migrants. This enables research on older migrants to move beyond certain stereotypes, such as ‘vulnerable’ former labour migrants ageing in place (Ciobanu, Fokkema and Nedelcu, 2017) versus ‘privileged’ older lifestyle migrants (Botterill, 2017). Rather, the same individual may be simultaneously disadvantaged in comparison with one reference group, but privileged in relation to another.

In terms of priority areas for future research, the structuring typology of resources, recognition and representation provides a useful template for reflection. As noted above, the lion’s share of work in this area has focused on older migrants’ economic and social resources. Nonetheless, a comprehensive statistical overview of the resource inequalities faced by migrants, at a Europe-wide level or even within specific countries, is lacking (Kofman et al., 2009). An effort to standardise statistical categories and indicators across different national contexts would greatly facilitate comparative analysis. In terms of recognition of marginalised identities and groups which have historically faced disadvantage, a clear research void is found at the intersection of migration background, ageing and sexual identity. There is barely any literature on the sexual lives of older migrants (one notable exception is Lulle and King, 2016). Experiences of

racism also appear to be common, although research into the implications of this for well-being in later life is lacking. Similarly, the representation of older migrants in print and broadcast media has been largely overlooked.<sup>7</sup>

More generally, this chapter has called attention to the analytical benefits which future research may reap by distinguishing between migration background and ethnicity. The importance of analysing ethnicity and migration background as separate (but often interacting) variables will only become more pronounced in future decades as we see increasing numbers of older ethnic minority individuals in the Global North who are *not* migrants but rather the children and grandchildren of those who first settled.

## Acknowledgements

The author is very grateful to both Sue Westwood and Oana Ciobanu for their comments on an earlier draft of this chapter.

## Notes

- 1 Although reliable statistics are not readily available, proxy measures such as the number of people receiving their pensions in well-known lifestyle migration destinations indicates that this specific group of older migrants is expanding.
- 2 In Britain, ethnicity rather than country of birth is the measure used in statistics, but given that second- and third-generation descendants of immigrants are still not numerous in the older age brackets, most non-White British elders are in fact also immigrants (Moriarty and Butt, 2004). Their number will increase by 148% between 2006 and 2026, versus 55% for the population overall (Rees et al., 2012). By 2051, 20% of the UK population over 65 is projected to be of 'visible' minority background (ibid.).
- 3 The term transnationalism describes 'the *frequent* and *durable* participation of immigrants in the economic, political, and cultural life of their countries [of residence and origin], which requires regular and frequent contact across national borders' (Portes, Escobar and Radford, 2007, 252; emphasis added).
- 4 It is worth noting that transnational ageing does not necessarily imply physical mobility across borders. One example is when care arrangements for ageing parents are coordinated remotely by adult children who no longer live in the same country (Baldassar, Vellekoop Baldock and Wilding, 2007).
- 5 A further specificity in the case of some non-resident UK pension recipients concerns 'frozen' state pensions which are not uprated annually in line with inflation (Botterill, 2017).
- 6 Note that in the UK, for historical reasons, some foreign nationals have voting rights (i.e. Irish nationals and citizens of certain Commonwealth countries). An EU citizen has the right to vote and be a candidate in municipal and European Parliament elections in whichever EU country he or she resides.
- 7 A session on this topic was organised at the annual conference of the IMISCOE Research Network in June 2017, and a special issue of the *International Journal of Ageing and Later Life* on this topic is currently in preparation.

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